1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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c. Four lodges once left the main tribe at Prairie du Chien or MacGregor, Wisconsin, and never returned. This happened after all the other tribes had leagued together against the Winnebago. The reason these four lodges left the Winnebago was because they were afraid that war might break out again. Some people believe that the Oto

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FIG. 1. SECTIONAL MAP OF WISCONSIN, GIVING THE LOCATIONS OF SOME OF THE OLD VILLAGES.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

[The numbers on the map indicate the locations of some of the Winnebago Winnebago villages.]

1. Doty Island village, 1834-1922.
2. Fenders village, 1797-1833.
3. Black Wolf's village, 1828.
4. Smoker's village, 1848.
5. Satterlees village, 1799.
6. Rush Lake villages.
7. Yellow Thunder's village, 1828-32.
8. Sayrel's village, 1827.
9. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1799.
10. Big Fox's village, 1922.
11. Waterloo village.
12. Iron Walker's village.
13. Little Priest's village, 1832.
Whirling Thunder's village, 1838.
14. Kaurayumunee's village, 1832.
15. Spotted Arm's village.
16. Dayton village.
17. White Crow's village, 1832.
18. Chonkeka's village, 1848.
White Ox's village, 1832.
19. Old Gray-headed Decorah's village, 1799-1808.
20. Yellow Thunder's "forty."
21. Kaurayumunee's village, 1832-42.
22. Sayrel's village, 1827.
23. Washington Decorah's village 1832.
24. Buzzard Decorah's village, 1797.
One-eyed Decorah's village, 1832.
25. Little Decorah's village, 1857.
26. Big Hawk's village, Pike Lake.

are this last branch, for they speak the same language with but few differences and use many old words that the Winnebago employed long ago but have now given up.

d. Some lodges left the tribe never to return. Some say there were four, others give different numbers (of long lodges). Some say only one lodge. My uncle used to say that there were four. "I think that it is believed that they went to the east," he said.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds.

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites.

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*natci*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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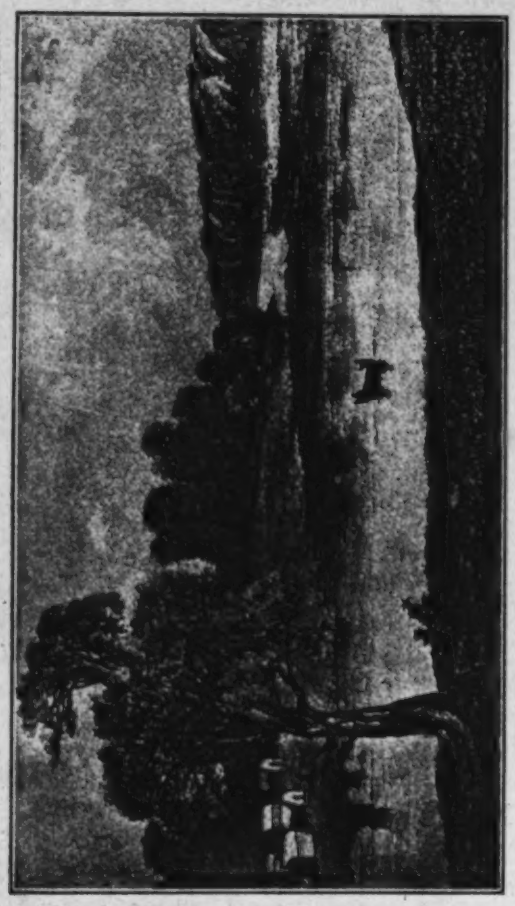

FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830
(From Winsbury)

[Facing p. 88(c)]

It Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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According to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na'ji'k'ere'*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haxa'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowa.xi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two centra poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

a

b

FIG. 22.—a, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE, b, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (those
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

The Warrior Clan

Introduction

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little
[552 to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was cus-
266] tomary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
178 wonexire ha'xkrak (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

● [361] The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
600 corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for
614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil-
● [361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as
[127] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinizini*. Some individuals also claimed
[513 that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they
345] were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

[533] The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled
778 baton of authority called *namazinizini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reu*s. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinizini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

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625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Ma°jiwiga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma°nuqp'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-acgadjewiga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amaniwiga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a°p'°wiga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a°lagowiga.....Still water.
Niruaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot°a°pwiga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcaga.....Selenic (?) water.
Wakdjexicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihuga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximaniga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'iga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexia°wiga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'iga.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawiga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabowiga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

The Buffalo Clan

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cirik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

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The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

[624
203]
[361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

[764]

ORIGIN MYTH[1]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

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[1] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąxc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxcnixcni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxcnixcni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archaeology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau, who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk, Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids. When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick, from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and immediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winnebago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thousand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

*159 nothing to eat, but I did not mind that. In the summer,
154 when people pick berries, they generally go out in
[361] bands and settle here and there. Some would be living
at a great distance from the others.